1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

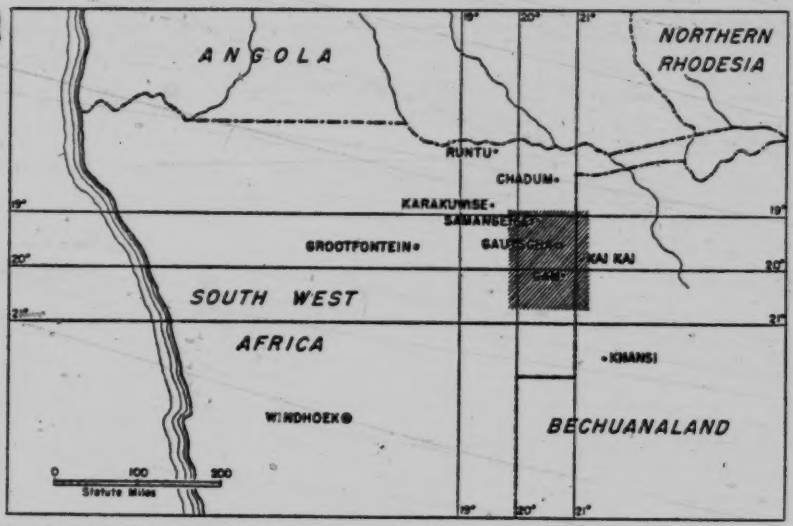
MARRIAGE AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

101 BECAUSE within the area we indicate by shading on the map[1] the /Kung Bushmen intermarry among themselves, by custom and preference, members of the Harvard Peabody Smithsonian Kalahari Expeditions needed a convenient way of referring to that area as a unit and arbitrarily called it the region of Nyae Nyae.

Nyae Nyae is a corruption of the /Kung name //Nua/ei. The name Nyae Nyae refers 131 strictly to a group of pans in South West Africa (S.W.A.) centred approximately at Gautscha Pan at about 19°48′30″ S, 20°34′36″ E. We extend the application of the name to an area around the pans of about 10,000 square miles, lying for the most part

[102]



Map of portions of South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Angola. The shading marks the Nyae Nyae region.

in S.W.A. but reaching some miles over the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate (B.P.). There are no strictly conceived boundaries around the area. We can only vaguely define it by saying that it does not include Karakuwise to the west or Chadum to the north. It does not, we think, reach eastward much farther than Kai Kai, or southward much beyond Blaubush Pan (40 or 50 miles south of Gam).

101 We establish the periphery of the region on the basis of statements made by 582 /Kung informants in the interior. They say that they intermarry among the bands [131] which live within the area we describe and do not customarily marry with other

[1] The sketch-map here provided is based on the [102] National Geographic *Map of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula*, March 1950, and the *Times Atlas of the World*, Vol. IV. The orientation of Gautscha is taken from the S.W.A. Surveyor-General's map dated at Windhoek 7:11:35.

/135 cont./

144 197 (Ngamiland): "I should like to observe briefly that the Kalahari Bushmen are low in my estimation, both in respect to their language and to their appearance; I was able to confirm an extremely close relationship with the Nama [Hottentot], but in an old dialect no longer spoken today."

141 Since I lack the knowledge for making anthropological measurements, I shall confine myself to /136/ presenting several ǂAuin types as I observed them. They may not be without value for comparative purposes.

I should like to add that in measuring physical height I obtained the following results:

Adult men (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.51 1/2 meters
Maximum height	1.62 meters
Minimum height	1.47 meters

Adult women (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.45 1/2 meters
Maximum height	1.53 meters
Minimum height	1.38 meters

A. Geography and Statistics

131 The ǂAuin, as they call themselves and as they are known to the neighboring Bushmen tribes, inhabit that part of the central Kalahari which is more or less immediately bounded by the watering places Rietfontein, Ganab, Gam, Sidonitzaub, Otjiamangombe, Tjumda, Epukiro, Oas, Stampriet, Rooigrauwater, and Habakobis. Their territory lies for the greater part within the boundaries of the German protectorate. The adjoining sketch indicates as accurately as possible the geographic location, as well as the approximate territory of the neighboring Bushmen tribes. The 101 Hottentot designate the ǂAuin as ǂAu-San (Schinz), the inhabitants of the Chanse Veld as ǂAukwé (Passarge), the Betschuana [Tswana] as Makaukau. The approximate number of Auin (1),

[104]

1. For the sake of simplicity I shall from now on omit the initial mark ǂǂ, which indicates the click.

2: Kaufmann--6 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Auen

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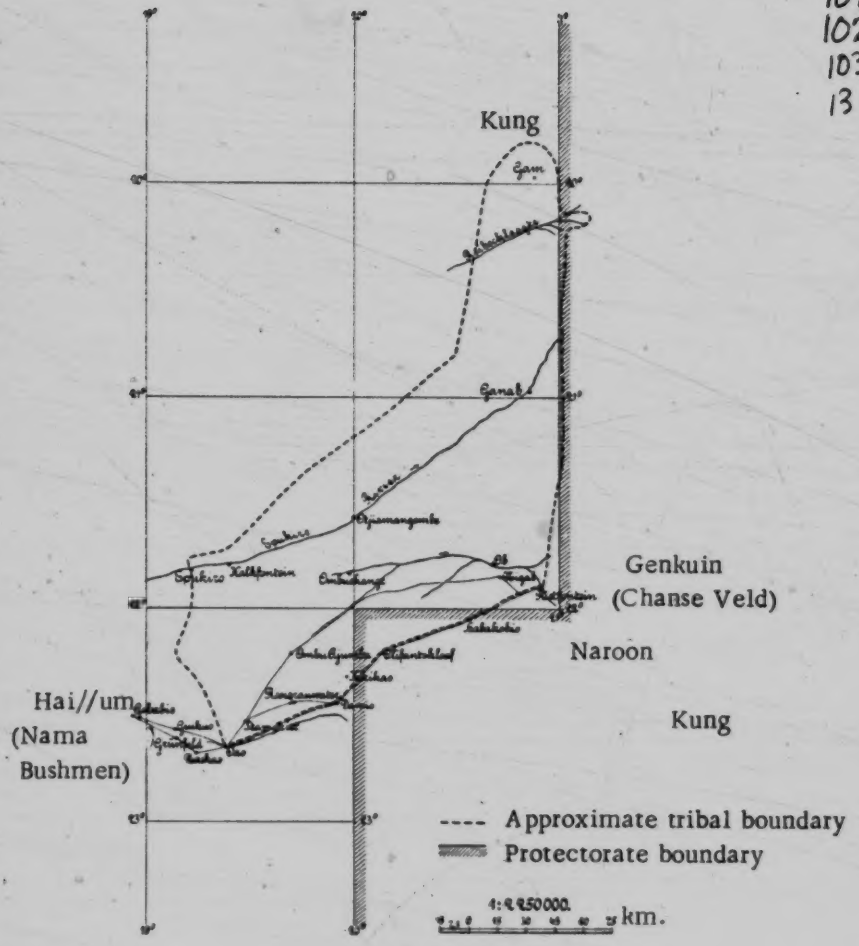

Map of the Auin Region

WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD

DAMA

[9 cont.]

805 shauba, cold season (N. sáob).

!kn-aba, hot season (N. !nái, warm).

535 Among dances, an ostrich and an ape dance were mentioned to me.

123 The studies, which began so promisingly, came to an end because I was evidently unable to present the village chief with enough presents. One evening a boy appeared and told me that the Bushmen had "had to go hunting." I continued to wait a number of days for the !Kung called by Mr. Eaddes. The messengers returned with the news that they had found no one. Another Sunday coat for the village mayor and some yellow money for the Bushmen, and priceless material could have been obtained.

[107]

Chapter 3

The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of the Ondonga [Ndonga]

173 According to their tradition, these Bushmen came from Herero country. Hence they represent the connecting link between the "Saan" in the Gobabis district and the Hei//om [Heikum] of the north. The people as a whole designate themselves as Daman = the wealthy. The horde around Oshigambo calls itself //Huru-Khái. They call their dialect Cháraba. I do not believe that they live far in the interior of the Otjimpolo Veld. They have an enormous respect for the !Kung. The outermost cattle posts of the Ondonga probably coincide pretty much with the boundaries of their territory. A number of them are Bantuized and have small physiques. The others engage in hunting and supply the black farmers with the flesh of wild game, hides, ostrich egg beads, and poison. They serve as beaters on the great hunts of Chief Martin. At the court they count for nothing. The farmers like to see them. Little acts of assistance, a sack of berries or veldkost, soften the heart of the black housewife, so that here, as in Uukualuthi [among the Kualuthi?], there are a number of do-nothings who are nonetheless gladly received.

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UUKUALUITHI
!KUNG

[16]

	German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
601	Son of father's brother	awób (1) !garis-khe	--

1. In this connection cf. !awi (N.): "To bear the first child."

Son of mother's brother	/góa khoaba	--
Daughter of father's brother	//khum khoás	--
Daughter of mother's brother	//khum khoás	--
Father's brother	di khoáb-khe	--
Mother's brother	khoes-khe-khoaba	--
Father's sister	di-khoaba	--
Mother's sister	//khum khoás	--
Sister-in-law	//khum khoas	--
Wife	tarás	--
Husband	aubā	--

Khoás (pronounced like quás) corresponds to Khois in Nama. Khoib, however, means man, human being, friend, and comparative Khoi Xa-Khoin = blood relative.

//Khum Khoas therefore signifies 'blood-related mother," which is properly applied to mother's sisters and their daughters and to the daughters of father's brother, but curiously enough also [582] to the sisters-in-law, probably because there is also a marriage prohibition with respect to them. Father's sisters and their daughters do not have this title, and one may marry these cousins.

Chapter 6

The !Kung Bushmen

131 The whole enormous region between Ewale, Ukuanjama, Oondonga, the Umaramba u Owambo up to its source, and from there across the farm bush veld up to north of Otjituo, and the whole Sand Veld east of the Omuramba Omatako to Alexeck on

[16 cont.]

131 the one hand, to the Okovanggo and the regions inhabited by the Bamangwato [Ngwato] west of Ngami Lake on the other hand, are inhabited by the tribes of the !Kung group.

Seiner (2) supplies the following apt division of this zone:

[113]

2. Mitteilungen aus Deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1914.

"The !Kung Veld forms the part of the Omaheke belonging to the northern Kalahari and is located between the Okovanggo (from Kagere to 19° southern latitude), the Kaukau Veld, the Sand Veld, the Karst Veld, the Etosha Pan, and the Otjimpolo Veld. -- The Kaukau Veld (according to Passarge, a plateau) is located between the Kung Veld, the Okovanggo, the Okovanggo basin, and the Sand Veld district. As the western boundary, in other words, toward the Sand Veld, the line Bogara -- Debra -- Blue Bush Pan in the western tip of the Okovanggo basin, close to the German border, should be adopted. The northern Sand Veld, through which I have traveled, can be delimited on the west by the line Nuragas -- Otjituo and by the valley of the Omatako from Otjituo to Okahitua; on the south by the line Okahitua -- Okosondusu -- Otjosonjou -- Epata -- Epukiro -- Rietfontein-East; on the east by the border zone of the Chanse Veld, the Okovanggo basin, and the Kaukau Veld. For the
137 northern boundary toward the Kung Veld, the factors of climate and plant geography must be taken into consideration, since there is no natural boundary here; the line Bogara -- Kanovlei -- Nuragas approximately forms the northern boundary of the Kalahari bush of the central Kalahari, which is sharply differentiated from the dry forest of the northern Kalahari. -- The loose,
[134] deep, leached steppe sand bears for the most part a tall, light xerophytic dry forest, usually with no underbrush and with deciduous trees that, as a result of the quantities of water stored in their root stalks and trunks, bear green leaves during the greater part of the dry season, and in part even bear blossoms and fruit during this season; this dry forest is a formation of relatively recent date. The vegetation of the firm, gray-humus,
[134] loamy river sand, or of the looser sand with ample ground

[16 cont.]

[134] saturation and ground water, is a dry forest of a different type
137 which corresponds to Warburg's lowland forest and, in contrast to the light dry forest of the looser sand, is distinguished by a relatively high density. -- The dry forest steppe occupies the largest areas of the !Kung Veld, and [17] lowland forest and grass steppe form only modest enclaves in it. Within the dry forest, at those places where the nature of the terrain makes possible the accumulation and preservation of relatively significant quantities of water or ground humidity, there are individual trees that are to be regarded as remnants of a former compact lowland forest, and the floristic composition of such forest islands leads to the conclusion that the entire region, with the exception of the primary grass steppes, whose floor probably never displayed taller vegetation because of its sterility, was once covered by a lush lowland forest as is preserved in its finest form at present in the northern Kalahari and in the 'rain forest' of Victoria Falls."

101 By the !Kung Bushmen in the narrower sense, who are
[131] divided into a northern group and an eastern group, I refer to those people who are located north of the police zone and south of the Okovanggo in the effluent region of the Omuramba u Owambo at the Löwenomuramba and on both sides of the lower and central Omuramba u Omatako. The groups in the source region of the Omuramba u Owambo have been studied by me in
174 greater detail. In former times, the !Kung undoubtedly lived much farther south and west. It is not improbable that they left the Grootfontein plain and the Otawi mountains under the pressure of the Hei//om, who in turn were forced out of the central region by the Herero. On the other side they undoubtedly gained space toward the south, for according to reports from the pre-war period, the Nogau were settled in the Sand Veld all the way to the vicinity of Otjituo, whereas today they have retreated
144 behind Alexeck. The racial composition of the !Kung Bushmen allows one to make a conclusion about their history. Among them we find a larger number of Europoid types than among the surrounding Bantu tribes. In addition, Austroloid influence is

[19 cont.]

162 In the age group of five to ten years, the number re-
165 mains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number
[123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

[20] Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in
[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman
● [131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief
133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika [Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa], Berlin, 1906.

648 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample
621 water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and
622

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself, who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year 1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and smoke it'." (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions of this tribe:
131 "The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

[20 cont.]

101 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposed-
●131 ly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are
[648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the
[631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief, the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notorious Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-
[197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do
[342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in
[301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh
[827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron
[411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations
[114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

OKOVONGGO BUSHMEN
NOGAU

[65 cont.]

000 and racial mixture is progressing rapidly. The Bugakwe live in
105 five villages with 220 persons in the western Okovanggo Valley
[161] down from the Mahango ford and are in bondage to Libebe, with
101 whom, however, they frequently have quarrels over the amount
131 of deliveries; on the occasion of one such dispute in June, 1905,
a Mambukuschu was killed by an arrow. The Garikwe live in
[161] eight villages with 430 souls in eastern Ärmellande from the
Paliba Swamp to the beginning of the valley, while the Goekwe
live in southern Ärmellande west of the river course. Concerning
[161] the latter, I found only a winter village with 90 souls, and that
north of the mouth of the Namassere on a river island.

"The Goekwe might well be identical with Passarge's Gokwe, whose territory extends from the western edge of the Tauche swampland deep into the Kaukau Veld; the Tschorilo Mountains belong to them. During the rainy season the Tannekwe undertake hunting expeditions in the neighboring steppes. The Hukwe, whose
[161] number I estimate at at least 600, are less racially mixed than the Tannekwe, but likewise live in settled villages, from which during the dry season they swarm out in family groups to gather or hunt in the forest steppe as the need arises."

Chapter 8

The Nogau Bushmen of Epukiro

During my stay in the mission station of Epukiro, I had an
101 opportunity for closer contact with the Bushmen who live in a kind of symbiosis with the Betschuana (2). They call themselves Nogau,

[113] 2. I have given a detailed report on the Europeanized Betschuana village of Epukiro in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 65 (1933).

specifically ǂno /gna !khou, that is, people who live by the water.
101 They are farther north of the Omuramba Epukiro toward Alexeck.
131 North of them are the Gai-kwe, and the !Kung are farther east and

[65 cont.]

101 north. Beyond this there is a great river and many black people
●131 (Okawango). They know only the Herero as their western neighbors. In other words, they came much later than the latter. Unquestionably as recently as 20 years ago some people of this group were still settled along the central Omurambo Omatako, where F. Seiner reports them from Otjituo and Nuragas. The Naron live south of them, and to the southeast the ≠Auin. In the southwest, at least formerly, there were Bushmen of the Hei//om group and /Gowanin (Sand Kaffir). Probably these Hei//om were the people formerly designated as Saan. Nogau, ≠Auin, and Naron actually belong to
[10] the Kalahari group. Throughout the farm zone which formerly
[175] extended to the English frontier, the tribal units were more or less
648 destroyed, and there arose a mixed Bushman population which constantly replenished its numbers from the free tribes. On the other hand, however, Bushmen from the farm zone always went back to the bush, partly of their own free will and partly in flight from the police. In the Gobabis district the boundary of the police zone coincides with the land boundary. The relationships between the Whites and the Hereros on the one hand, and the Bushmen on the other, are therefore [66] very tense. A few years ago,
175 after the Bushmen had been prohibited from hunting big game,
648 they rebelled and declared a feud against the magistrate in Gobabis by shooting some arrows against the door of his house one night. The magistrate, Van Rynefeldt, wanted to hunt them down in the bush, but was struck by a poisoned arrow shot from ambush and died. A great roundup of Bushmen was organized and many of them were taken to the prison in Gobabis, where a number of them died as a
[178] result of the vitamin-poor diet. Since then the Bushmen in this region have again chosen a chief and represent a modest power. As a result of these conditions, it was much more difficult to gain
123 their confidence than in the north. In this respect, P. Watterott and the village mayor of Epukiro, Franz Arenat, were especially helpful to me. These Bushmen are of special interest since there
195 is a special women's language among them. It is called Hee-aziba he auseashu. It is in part also spoken by the children and is characterized by having many words that have no clicks. It was only with great difficulty that I was able to take down a few words, for example:

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

AFRICA

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THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE !KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THE Peabody Harvard Kalahari Expedition, under the leadership of Laurence K. Marshall, has made four field trips between 1950 and 1955 into the Kalahari Desert in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate to find and study Bushmen who were living in their own way, and not working for white farmers or for Negroes. The last of the four expeditions, that of 1955, was sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution as well as by the Peabody Museum of Harvard.

Our principal study was made with the /Kung Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. The Nyae Nyae region extends about 150 miles north and south, about 100 miles east and west, and is centred approximately at Gautscha Pan, which is located at *c.* 19° 48′ 30″ S. and 20° 34′ 36″ E. on the map of a survey of the area by the Administration of South West Africa dated 7.11.1935. The Nyae Nyae region is separated from the farmed areas of South West Africa by a stretch of waterless, uninhabited country over 100 miles wide.

We chose the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region for concentrated study because they are the least acculturated Bushmen we found.[1] They are non-literate, nomadic hunters and gatherers, with no agriculture or domesticated animals. They are completely self-reliant

[1] On the expeditions we travelled extensively in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The groups of Bushmen we encountered were, in addition to the /Kung of Nyae Nyae, /Kung outside the Nyae Nyae region at Karakuwise, Nuragas, Khadum, and at water holes south of Gum in South West Africa, and at Kai Kai, Kubi and other places along the western border of Bechuanaland, where Chwana and Herero have cattle posts; Makaukau and Naron near Ghanzi, B. P.; /Kõ at Okwa and at Barachu, about 50 and 100 miles south of Ghanzi respectively; /Gikwe about 100 miles south-east of Ghanzi in the trackless sandy plain that lies between Ghanzi and Molepolole, where during the dry season there is no water; and //Ganakwe still farther south, below Chukudu. We studied the kinship terminology of the /Kõ and /Gikwe; Professor L. F. Maingard, for a time a member of the 1955 expedition, studied the /Kõ language, which has the labial (fifth) click of the southern group.

Professor I. Schapera and Miss D. F. Bleek, in their Bushman studies, record information on these groups. For more data on the various names by which the groups are known and the areas in which they were found and the language groups into which Miss Bleek's studies place them, see especially Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 31 ff., and Bleek, D. F., 'The Distribution of Bushman Languages in South Africa', *Festschrift Meinhof*, pp. 55 ff.

'Africa', the Journal of the International African Institute, is published by the Institute, but except where otherwise stated the writers of the articles are responsible for the opinions expressed.

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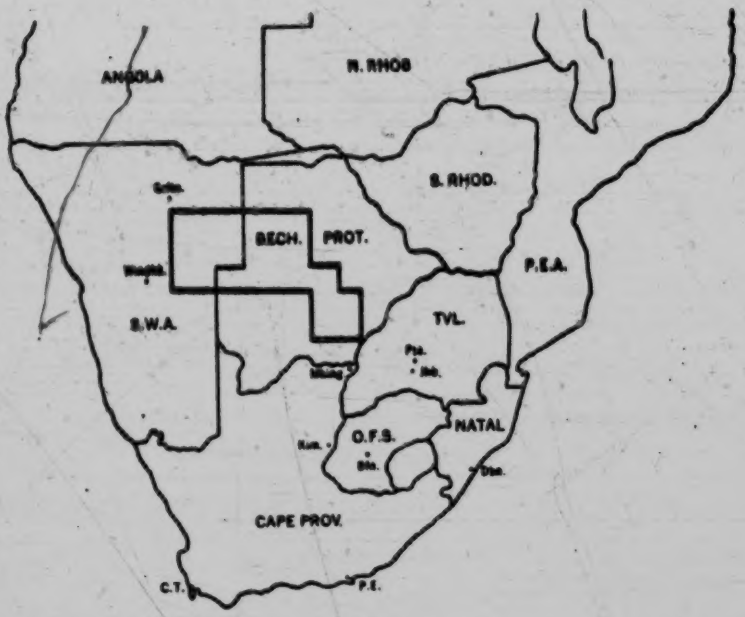

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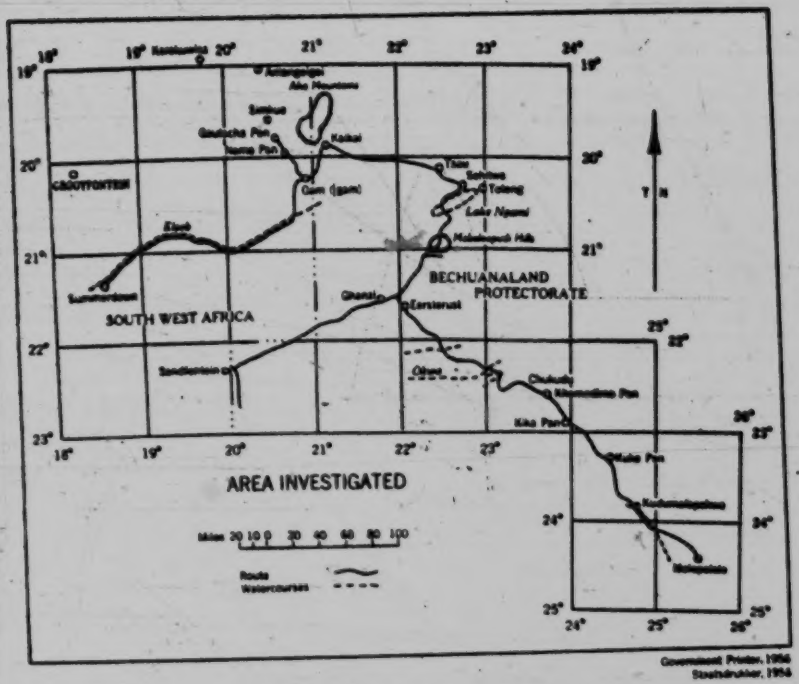

GENERAL AND DETAILED MAPS
OF THE AREA COVERED IN THIS STUDY.

[p. 3]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

173 Of migration of the Bushmen from elsewhere no mention is made in local native traditions. The Hottentots, Hereros and Ovambos state that on their arrival the Bushmen were found in occupation and that the latter must have been living here ever since the creation of man. The Bushmen likewise believe that their present tribal divisions and distribution have been in existence since the very beginning of things when each tribe had its origin in a "first big Bushman" and a "first big Bushwoman" of its own by whom were handed down to their descendants the practices and customs still peculiar to and the territory still occupied by their respective tribes. Each of the existing tribes with its constituent elements is consequently looked upon as having been "born" in and having been in occupation of the same area from time immemorial. Although claiming descent from the aboriginal race they have lost all knowledge of the arts of painting and engraving. The rock paintings and carvings left by their ancestors are considered to be the works not of man but of the "devil."

[173 829]
[174 531]

174 The view that the present day Bushmen are composed of the remnants of their race driven back by the advance of stronger invading races from the north and south is not borne out by evidence arising out of recent investigations into the life and customs of this primitive people.

Distribution.

101 131 With the exception of a few isolated remnants on the north bank of the Orange River and along the edge of the Namib desert, the Bushmen are confined entirely to the Kalahari along the eastern and north-eastern borders and to the northern portions of the territory which adjoin Ovamboland.

The Bushmen of the Kalahari region consist of three main divisions, each speaking a language of its own, viz.: the */Nu-//ĕin* or */Nu-san* in the south, the *Ngami* Bushmen in the centre and the *Kaukau* Bushmen in the north.

The *//Nu-//ĕin* inhabit those portions of the Gobabis, Gibeon and Aroab districts which lie to the east of the Elephant and Auob rivers. The northern limit of their distribution is formed by a line running roughly from Naunas across Oas to the Elephant's River, crossing the Nosob a short distance below the junction of the Black and White Nosob Rivers.

The *Ngami* Bushmen are composed of a good many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In South West Africa they are represented by only a few groups of the *//Aikwe* tribe. These groups are known as the *Naron* and are distributed along the banks of the Chapman River as far as Oas.

The *Kaukau* Bushmen inhabit the greater portion of the Omaheke, including a part of the Kaukauveld and the

Oschimpoloveld. On the east they extend into the Bechuanaland Protectorate and on the north into Angola. Among them are included the *†Aukwe* or *‡Ao-//ãin* in the south between Sandfontein and */Gam*, the *Ssu-‡gnassi* to the northeast and the *‡Kũng* to the northwest. /01 /31

Next in importance and numbers to the Bushmen of the Kalahari are the *Hei-//om* living in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan and on the outskirts of Ovamboland in the Grootfontein and Outjo districts. They are generally believed to have resulted from the interbreeding of Hottentots with a now extinct tribe of Bushmen which originally inhabited the greater portion of the present Damaraland and Ovamboland. Their manner of life is still that of Bushmen but, unlike their neighbours of the Kalahari, they have no language of their own and speak a Nama dialect. Except among the groups in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organisation has disappeared almost completely. The groups living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture. In Eastern Ovamboland they are known by the Ovambo as *Ovachwagga;* in northwestern Ovamboland they call themselves *Ovambo* Bushmen but are referred to by the Ukuanyama as *Wakeddi* or *Ovakeddi*. Both *Ovachwagga* and *Ovakeddi*, especially the latter, are being rapidly absorbed into the *Ovambo* through intermarriage. The *Ovachwagga* speak both the Ovambo and Hottentot languages. Among the *Ovakeddi*, on the other hand, only the older members of the various groups still have a knowledge of the latter language. Of the groups along the banks of and immediately to the north of the Ovambo Omuramba very little is known. To the west they are in contact with the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha region; to the north with the Ovambo and to the east with */Kung* of the Oschimpoloveld or northern Omaheke. The *Hei-//om* of the remaining portions of Grootfontein and Outjo and of the districts of Otjiwarongo and Gobabis are scattered about on farms and are living in close association with Hottentots and Klip Kaffirs with whom they show various degrees of intermixture. In Gobabis there is only a small remnant, known locally also as the *Nama* or *Kakuja* Bushmen on account of the extent to which they have interbred with these races and the neighbouring tribes of the Kalahari. [174] [197] [582] [191] [197]

Of the tribes which were left in Namaqualand during the latter half of the last century only a few individuals have survived. The */Geinin* of the Namib between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//Obanen* of the Huns Mountains, and the */Koma-san* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateau have disappeared completely. The */Huinin* are represented by a few groups at the southern extremity of the */Huib* plateau and adjacent part of the Namib. The */Ganin* of the Nauwkloof Mountains have likewise become almost totally extinct. /01 /31

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Population.

161 The Bushmen are scattered over an area of approximately 60,000 square miles. Of this area at least 50,000 square miles are practically unknown and otherwise uninhabited, being accessible with considerable difficulty only during the rainy season. It is extremely difficult, therefore, to arrive at a reliable conclusion as to their numbers. On a conservative basis they are estimated to number between 2,500 and 3,500, viz.:—

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Kaukau Bushmen—	
!Kung	500—800
Ssu-ǂgnassi	200—300
ǂAo-//ẽin	500—600
Ngami Bushmen—	
//Aikwe	50—75
/Nu-//ẽin	200—300
Hei-//om	1,000—1,500
/Huinin and /Geinin	75—100

Physical Characteristics.

164 With the exception of certain groups who are living in the more inaccessible portions of the Kalahari, most of the Bushmen show various degrees of intermixture with the Hottentots and Bantu. No uniform racial type is consequently met with among them. This fact is not to be wondered at when the various racial influences to which they have been exposed for centuries are taken into consideration. For geographical reasons the Bushmen in certain parts of the Kalahari did not suffer to the same extent from these influences as those who were in the line of migration of the invading races. Roughly speaking three characteristic types may be distinguished among them. The first, in which the Hottentot element would appear to be the dominant one, is seen among the *Hei-//om*, *ǂAo-//ẽin* and *Naron* in the Gobabis district and among the remnants still met with on the borders of Namaqualand. The second type approximates that of the Bantu and is seen particularly among the *Hei-//om* who live on the outskirts of Ovamboland. In the third, still met with only in the Kalahari, bush characteristics are still apparently predominant. As reliable information is not available on this subject, to the investigation of which but little attention has been directed up to the present, further reference to it would not serve any useful purpose.

Social Organisation.

The Family Group.

169 Each of the language groups into which the Bushmen have been classified consist of several main sub-divisions. Though for the sake of convenience the latter will be referred to as "tribes" in this report, there is no evidence of any tribal

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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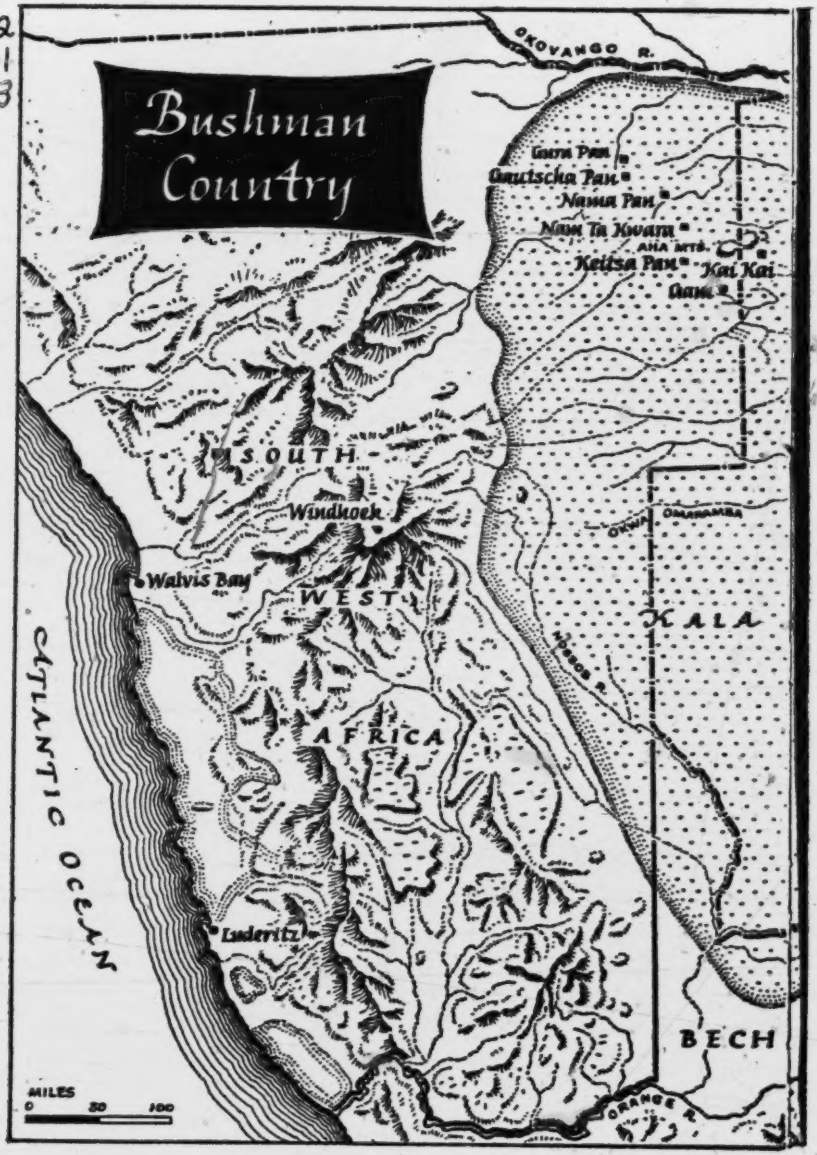

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9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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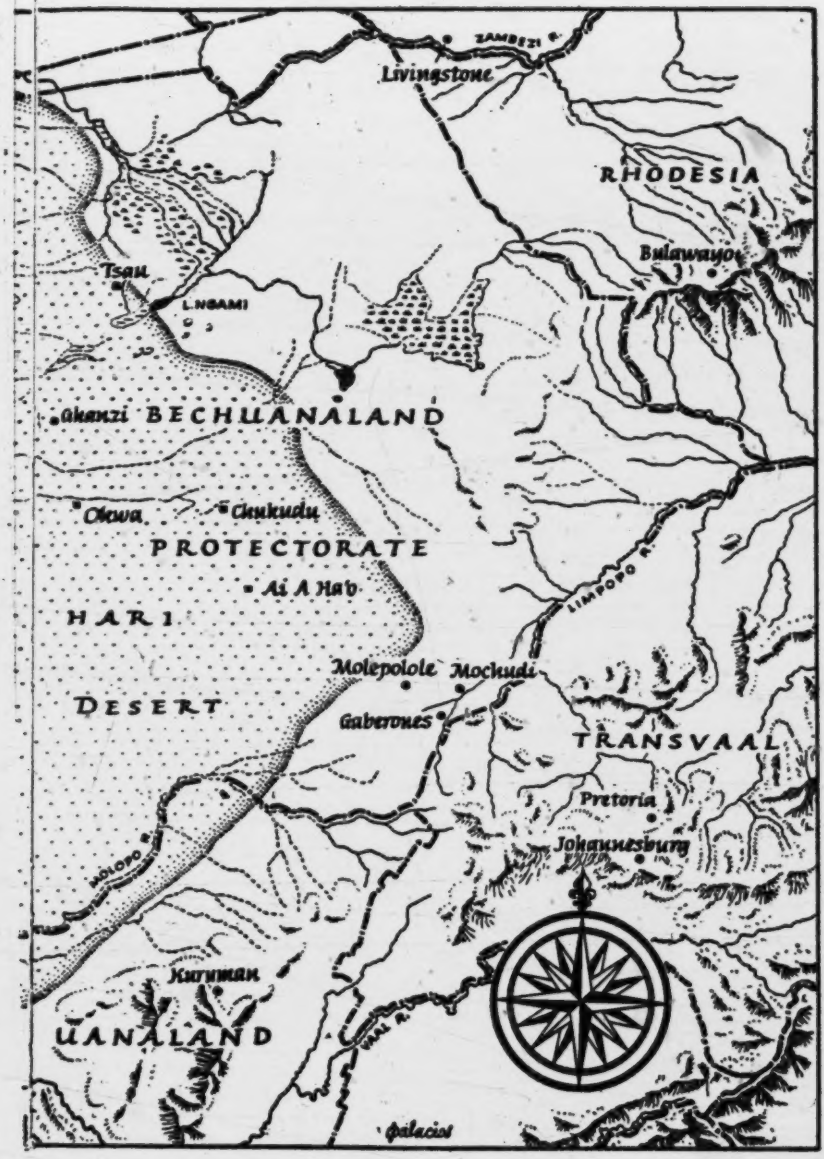

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9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

CHAPTER ONE

The Desert

THERE is a vast sweep of dry bush desert lying in South-West Africa and western Bechuanaland, bordered in the north by Lake Ngami and the Okovango River, in the south by the Orange River, and in the west by the Damera Hills. It is the Kalahari Desert, part of a great inland table of southern Africa that slopes west toward the sea, all low sand dunes and great plains, flat, dry, and rolling one upon the other for thousands of miles, a hostile country of thirst and heat and thorns where the grass is harsh and often barbed and the stones hide scorpions.

From March to December, in the long drought of the year, the sun bakes the desert to powdery dry leaves and dust. There are no surface waters at all, no clouds for coolness, no tall trees for shade, but only low bushes and grass tufts; and among the grass tufts grow brown thistles, briers, the dry stalks of spiny weeds, all tangled into knots during the rains, now dry, tumbled, and dead.

The Kalahari would be very barren, very devoid of landmarks, if it were not for the baobab trees, and even these grow far from each other, some areas having none. But where there

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

unmarried son or two, and their daughters' children. Bushmen are polygynous, and a man is allowed by custom to have as many wives as he can afford, depending on how well he hunts—usually a man can afford only one wife, sometimes two (often a pair of sisters), and once we heard of a man with four wives. For this reason there are often more women than men in a band.

The immediate family, a man, his wife, or wives, and children, is the only solid social unit; otherwise the small bands are always breaking up and recombining with other small bands as the structures of single families change, through marriages, divorces, deaths, or as the family decides to pay a prolonged visit to a different group of relatives.

Any Bushman will either be related by blood or marriage or will be acquainted with all the other Bushmen in his area but this is as far as Bushmen go in their affinities. They do not recognize as their own people strange Bushmen who speak the same language; in fact, they suspect and fear them as they do any stranger.

We have visited four of the Bushman language groups, two of which we stayed with for long periods of time. In 1951, after a survey expedition to learn where Bushmen could be found, we went into the Nyae Nyae area of South-West Africa, close to the border of Bechuanaland, to look for Kung Bushmen. We found a band living near a waterhole, as it was June, the drought of the year, and we stayed with them for four months. At first only a few Bushmen were there, but as the news spread that we were friendly, more and more people came to visit us and receive presents of tobacco and salt, for Bushmen love to smoke but rarely have tobacco, which they get in trade. Also, most of the Bushmen had never seen a European before, none had ever seen a European woman, and they came by dozens to sit together in a cluster

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

114-131 at a distance to observe my mother and me. By the end of our stay we had become friendly with them, and in 1952 we visited them again. We found them waiting confidently for us, living beside the track our trucks had made, as we had told them that we would come back if we were able, and this time we stayed with them for a year. In August 1955 we returned to them again, but before we did so we spent four months in Bechuanaland. We lived one month with a group of Naron and Kō Bushmen at a place called Okwa (the two groups were mixed together because their territories happen to meet at that place), and almost two months with Gikwe Bushmen in the four-hundred-mile stretch of empty desert between Ghanzi, near the border of South-West Africa, and Molepolole, near the border of the Transvaal. Ghanzi is a small town with a post office and a store, the center of a group of rather extensive European farms. Molepolole is a great Bantu village of the Bakwena (Crocodile) Bechuana people, where a Chuana chieftain lives. The other month we spent traveling to the Gikwe, because they are very remote.

174 Nobody knows where the Bushmen originated, from what racial stocks they came, or when they came to Africa. But here and there throughout southern Africa, in mountain caves and on sheltered rocks, paintings and engravings are found which are known to have been made centuries ago, and are believed to have been made by Bushmen. It is hard to say for certain that Bushmen made the paintings because, to my [531] knowledge, Bushmen do not paint on rocks or in caves now. However, Kung Bushmen do scratch designs on the bark of trees and on their ostrich eggshells. During each expedition I asked Bushmen to paint for me with paints and paper which I provided. Though none of the Bushmen we met had ever

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

that marks an edible root, or see a scorpion hidden in the dust and jump over it. So Bushmen survive in the most rigorous places; they survive in the dense, mosquito-ridden papyrus swamps of the Okovango River, steaming like a jungle and dangerous with snakes and fever, where the River Bushmen live, the only Bushmen with plenty of water; they also survive on the vast, rolling steppes of central Bechuanaland, the territory of the Gikwe Bushmen, who for the nine dry months of the year have no water at all and do without it.

Besides the fact that Bushmen alone can live in the land they occupy, there is another reason for their remoteness and shyness. They are in many instances exploited by the Bantu farmers, and by a few of the European farmers, usually those who need free or almost free labor. Many Bantu farms and households have Bushman servants, or serfs, rather, as they usually come from the land on or near the farm, and when working they are paid nothing but are given food, tobacco, and sometimes cast-off clothing as wages. Some European farms in Bechuanaland and some in South-West Africa have Bushman laborers too, though most European farmers do not depend on Bushman labor. Those European farmers who do employ Bushmen usually pay wages, about ten shillings a month, plus a ration of food to each Bushman who is working, though not necessarily to his family, consisting of about a pound of cornmeal and a quart of milk a day, meat occasionally, and weekly a ration of tobacco. Perhaps the employer will add a set of clothing—that is, a pair of cast-off pants and a shirt—and perhaps a blanket every year, but occasionally they pay their labor in cast-off clothing and omit the ten shillings altogether.

European clothing is esteemed among Bushmen, for it is symbolic to them of a people mightier than themselves, and

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Hunting is mankind's oldest—and least rewarding—way of life. Among its last practitioners are the Kalahari Bushmen

PART I

A PEOPLE, small of stature, few in numbers, calling themselves "!Kung," but who are called "Bushmen" by others, live today in a tremendous depression, half-a-continent wide and sunken in the southern African plateau—by name, the Kalahari Desert Basin. They live on the huge floor of this Basin, near one of its imperceptible sides. It is an open land—large to the point of vagueness, under a limitless sky. There is a word used frequently by the other inhabitants of this Basin—mostly black-skinned peoples—to define the different cultural groups now living there. The word is "nation." One speaks of the Herero nation, the Chuana nations, the Okavango nations. To follow this usage, one would speak of the !Kung nation of *Nyae Nyae*—one among several Bushmen nations. [The prefix, (!), indicates one of the so-

WORLDLY GOODS of a !Kung family are arrayed, *above*, preparatory to moving camp. The number of belongings cannot exceed family's carrying capacity.

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

132 themselves for the winter and in a state most suitable for food. The desert pales. Day and night, water evaporates from the pans; first becoming a film, then less than a film, with only the damp clay glistening. One noon, the clay begins to wrinkle in the sun. By June, the earth is dry: the land is fast and quietly held by winter.

132 731 Such would be a perfect round of seasons. In the periods of drought that have come every few years in the recent past, however, there have been no such perfect seasons and all living things have, of necessity, fastened tenaciously to the drying earth and held on. Even in normal years, the weather is unbalanced: large areas of the Kalahari may be flooded, while others receive a sprinkling of rain in what amounts to drought conditions. In this land, and through these seasons, the !Kung nation lives.

● [131] 14 THE AREA in which the !Kung now live is called *Nyae Nyae*. How long they have lived there is not

174 last, white and black met,—raiding one another for cattle across the Fish River—and the time of the Zulu and the Voortrekker was near, the classic period of the Bushmen was over.

131 THE AREA called *Nyae Nyae* lies on the border between South West Africa and Bechuanaland. It covers about 10,000 square miles, between 18°55′ and 21°0′ South latitude and 19°50′ to 21°25′ East longitude. In 133 the center of this area is a ring of *kalk* pans. *Nyae Nyae* is actually the name the !Kung gave to this ring of pans, although I have applied it to the whole area occupied by the !Kung nation.

136 There is game round these pans and, in small groups, everywhere in *Nyae Nyae*. Wild roots grow in the 137 bush that shrouds much of the territory. There is *tsi* in the south, while 133 *mangetti* forests crowd along the crests of white sand dunes in the south and east, and spread over the north. Their

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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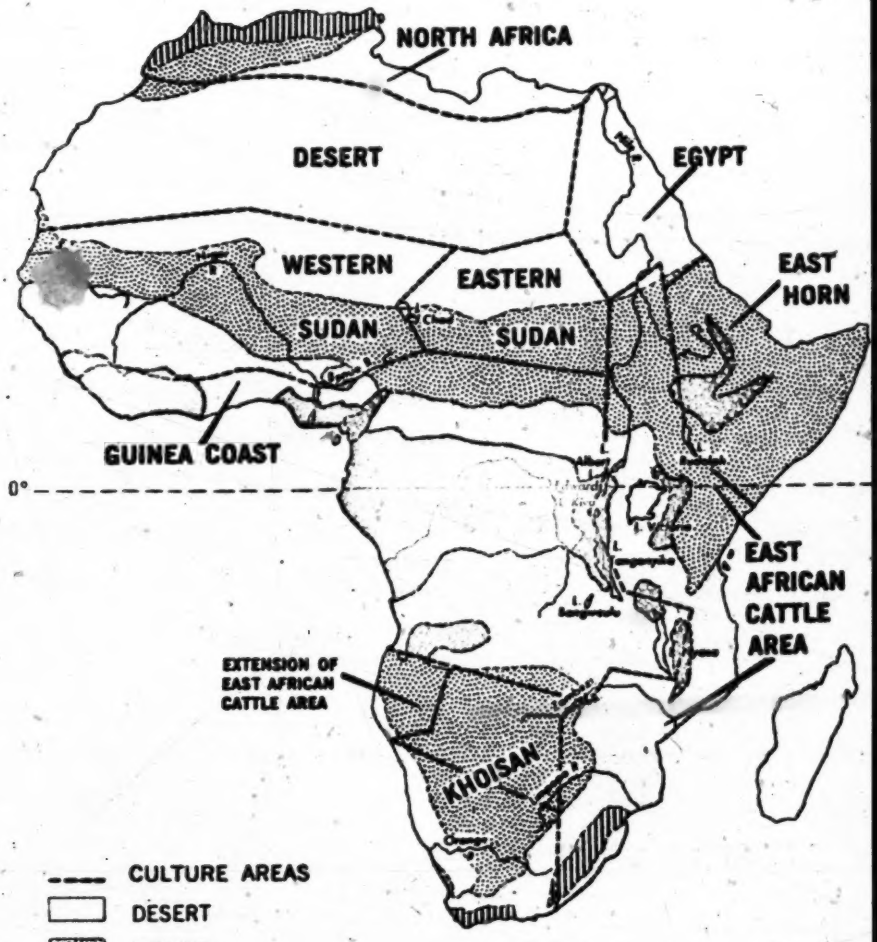
AFRICA: CULTURE AREAS AND VEGETATIONAL ZONES



[Front Map 1]
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15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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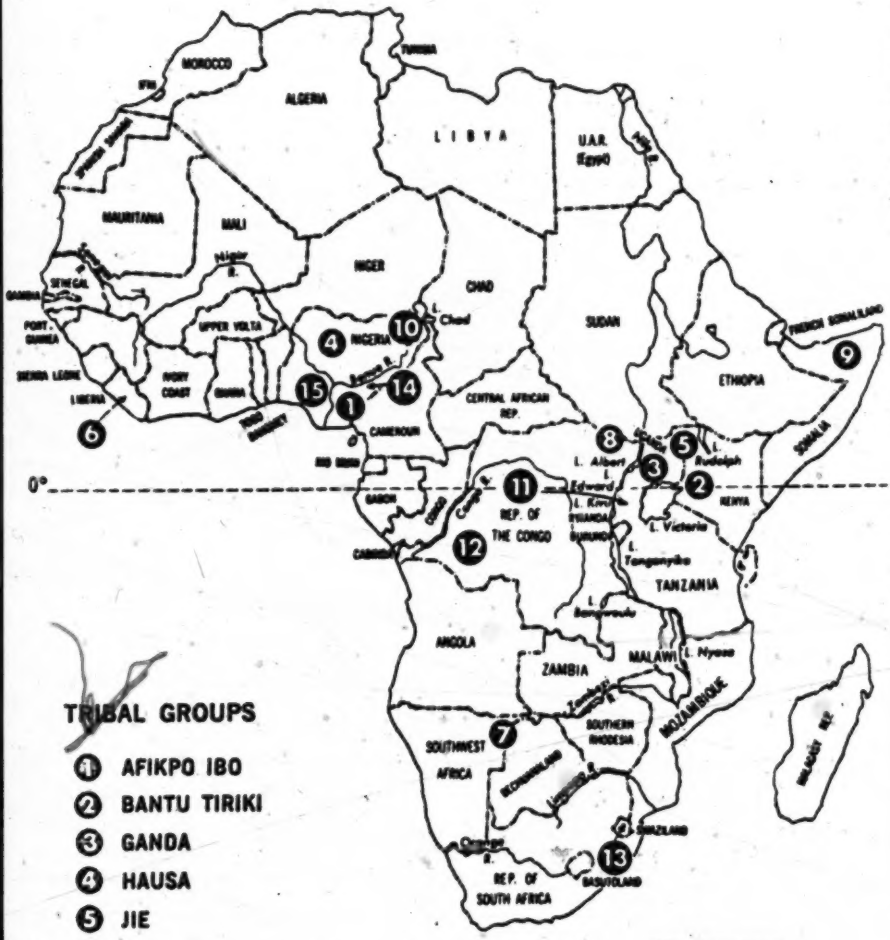
AFRICA: TRIBAL LOCATIONS AND POLITICAL BOUNDARIES, 1964



TRIBAL GROUPS

1. AFIKPO IBO
2. BANTU TIRIKI
3. GANDA
4. HAUSA
5. JIE
6. KPELLE
7. !KUNG BUSHMEN
8. MBUTI PYGMIES
9. NORTHERN PASTORAL SOMALI
10. PASTORAL FULANI
11. RWANDA
12. SUKU
13. SWAZI
14. TIV
15. YORUBA

[Front Map 2]
[p. ii]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

LORNA MARSHALL · *The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert*[1]

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION · The Bushmen live in those parts of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa that lie in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate, in South West Africa, and in southeastern Angola. A few additional remnants of Bushman groups still exist in Northern Rhodesia and at Lake Chrissie in South Africa. In the past Bushmen had a much wider distribution.[2]

Many Bushmen live among, and some work for, the Bantu-speaking tribes in settlements where sufficient water resources have been developed to support cattle, and some Bushmen work for white farmers in the Ghanzi area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in South West Africa. However, many still live in small, independent, nomadic groups, widely dispersed in the vast areas of the desert.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise population count of the Bushmen, but a recent estimate gathered from various contemporary sources (Tobias 1956) indicates that in 1955 there were 55,531 Bushmen.[3] These figures are higher than any previously propounded (cf. Schapera 1939) and come as a surprise to many.

The Bushmen are linked with the Hottentots, a southern African people who resemble them physically and with whom they have linguistic affiliations, but who are a pastoral people with a more complex social structure. Bushmen and Hottentots together are called the *Khoisan* peoples, a coined term combining the Hottentots' term for themselves (*Khoi*) and their name for the Bushmen (*San*). The Khoisan peoples have been referred to as a distinct race (Murdock 1959: 8) or, as Howells puts it, "a major racial variety of man" (1959:306). The obscurity of their origins and racial affinities are in themselves subjects in which research continues and interesting postulations engage the attention of scientists in various fields.[4]

PHYSICAL FEATURES · The physical features of the Bushmen have drawn much attention from anthropologists. Bushmen are of small stature (adult males average approximately five feet, two inches) WITH YELLOWISH BROWN SKIN THAT BECOMES HEAVILY WRINKLED IN OLD AGE.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival, for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bushmen cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local groupings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within themselves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /õassi* and who live in the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48'30" S, 20°34' E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and 9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen-speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is survival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we refer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired, but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets. Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this region as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these; doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

(3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

(4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into categories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

(5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been published by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

(6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

(7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

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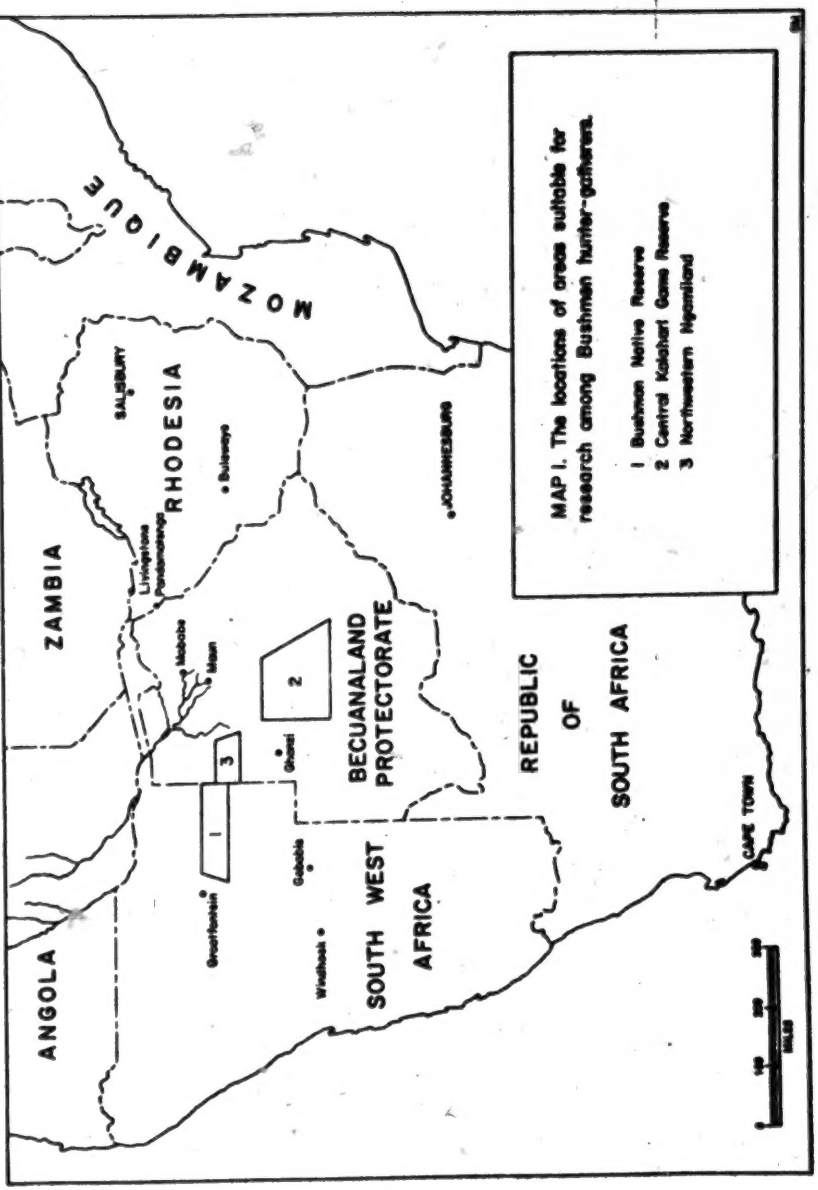
MOZAMBIQUE
SALISBURY
RHODESIA
Bulawayo
ZAMBIA
Livingstone
Mabalo
Maun
Ghanzi
BECUANALAND PROTECTORATE
JOHANNESBURG
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
CAPE TOWN
ANGOLA
Grootfontein
Gobabis
Windhoek
SOUTH WEST AFRICA
1
2
3
MAP I. The locations of areas suitable for research among Bushman hunter-gatherers.
1 Bushman Native Reserve
2 Central Kalahari Game Reserve
3 Northwestern Ngamiland

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

TABLE 1

Periods of Research, Camps and Seasons of the Kalahari Bushman Study

Period	Location	Season
1963		
August	on survey, northern Kalahari	winter, cool dry
October-December	Dobe	end of hot dry, small rains, main rains
1964		
January-February	Tsodilo	main rains
late February-end April	Dobe	end rains, onset of winter dry
early May	Tsodilo	onset of winter dry
mid June	on survey, southern Kalahari	winter cold dry
late June-early September	Dobe area	winter cold dry
September	Kuli-Ghanzi	spring hot dry
late October-December	Dobe area	end of hot dry, small rains
1965		
early January	Dobe-Maun	small rains

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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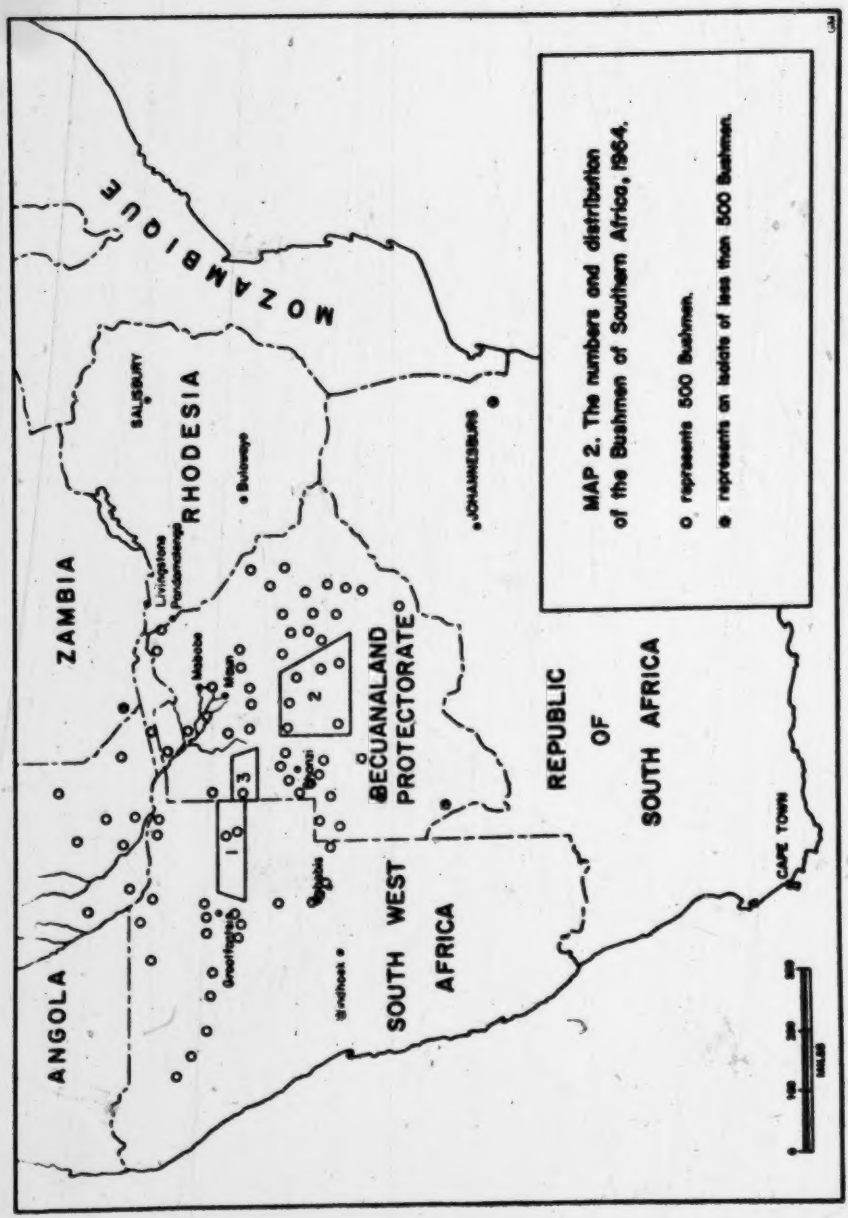

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MAP 3. Major linguistic divisions of the Bushmen.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

The economic position

114 224 222 161 Tobias erred when he estimated that in 1956, 35,000 of the 55,000 Bushmen "lead a hunting and food-gathering life, barely removed from that of the late Upper Palaeolithic or of the South African Later Stone Age." (1957:33). The first comment concerns the numbers of Bushmen still hunting; the second the "primitiveness" of the modern Bushmen hunters.

162 131 464 648 224 Of the 15,000 Bushmen in South West Africa at least 9,500 are working on European farms. An additional 3,000 are either working for Bantu agriculturalists or practicing agriculture and stock-keeping themselves. (Republic of South Africa 1964:29,41). This leaves 2,500 as hunter-gatherers in South West Africa.

In Bechuanaland an estimated 16,300 Bushmen work on European farms or Bantu cattle posts. A further 2,000 are practicing a mixed agricultural and hunting way of life. The remaining 6,100 lead a hunting and gathering way of life. The main concentrations of the latter are in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (3,000) and in western Ngamiland (1,600).

The Batwa of the Lake Chrissie area have been working on European farms for nearly a century (Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955:3). The Bushmen in the Gemsbok Park are a major tourist attraction, but may do some hunting.

In Rhodesia, the Bushmen in the Wankie area are all

working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life. (Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated at 200.

This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with their European and Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds on a contract basis.

ooo As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

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ANGOLA
ZAMBIA
SALISBURY
Livingstone
Kadomalenga
RHODESIA
MOZAMBIQUE
Bulawayo
1
3
2
Windhoek
SOUTH WEST
AFRICA
BECHUANALAND
PROTECTORATE
JOHANNESBURG
REPUBLIC
OF
SOUTH AFRICA
CAPE TOWN
0 100 200 300
MILES
MAP 4. The economic conditions of the modern Bushmen.
Full time hunting and gathering
Bantu-associated peoples
Independent villages
European farm workers

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

The !Kung Bushmen

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162 The !Kung are the most numerous of the surviving Bushman tribes. Of the estimated total of 13,000, about 3,000 live in Angola, 2,000 in Bechuanaland, and 8,000 in South West Africa. The !Kung occupy a remarkably large area. Their country extends from north to south for a distance of 500 miles, and from east to west for a distance of 300 miles (see Map 5).

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19 Two criteria clearly distinguish the !Kung from all other Bushman peoples: their language and their unique system of personal naming. The !Kung language has phonological features in common with adjacent Tshu-khwe and Hottentot languages, such as the four click system and the strong glottal releases. However, the vocabulary and grammar of !Kung sets it apart from the other click languages. A lexicostatistic comparison of !Kung and Nharo showed a low incidence of cognates (11.5%).

[114]
[193] The grammar of !Kung has yet to be adequately described, but none of the preliminary work by Doke (1925), Bleek (1929), Maingard (1957), and Westphal (1962, 1963:244) has been able to demonstrate a genetic relationship of !Kung grammar to the grammars of the other click languages.

There are no semi-!Kung languages (although the vocabulary of the southern dialect has been influenced by contact with Nharo) and therefore a native speaker of !Kung is immediately identified as a member of the !Kung tribe. This holds

551 563 the south to the Okavango River on the north. The !Kung name-relationship was first described by Lorna Marshall (1957:3ff) for the Bushmen at /Gauŝa Pan, South West Africa. It was found in 1964 that !Kung farm workers as far away as Gobabis, South West Africa, two hundred miles south of /Gauŝa, possessed the same repertoire of personal names, the same rules of name inheritance, and the same method for fictively linking unrelated individuals through the name relationship.

From the scanty evidence available on the Angola !Kung (Bleek 1928), it appears that the name relationship is not operative there. However, in Bechuanaland and South West Africa the presence of the institution is a reliable criterion for determining whether a Bushman is !Kung.[1]

101 • 131 162 There are three geographical divisions of the !Kung Bushmen. The northern group, numbering about 4,000, live in Angola and the far northern districts of South West Africa. The central group, numbering about 7,000, extend from the western margin of the Okavango Swamp in Bechuanaland as far as the farms of the Grootfontein district of South West Africa. [241] The southern group (c. 2,000) are confined to the farms of the

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[1] Unpublished evidence on the southern ǂhũa Bushmen indicates that they possess a system of fictive kinship based on personal names, but the repertoire of names appears to be entirely different from that of the !Kung Bushmen (Heinz, Westphal, personal communications).

Ghanzi and Gobabis Districts and their immediate northern hinterland. All three divisions speak mutually intelligible dialects of !Kung but only the central and southern divisions have the institution of the name relationship.

The northern division peoples call themselves "!kũ" meaning "people" (Bleek, 1928:106) and many ethnographers have adopted this as the general appelation for the tribe. There has been a bewildering variety of spellings of this name[1] and it is urgent that one standard form be chosen. It is recommended that !Kung be adopted as the standard appelation for the tribe, following the lead of Fourie (1928:83) and Marshall (1957, 1959, 1960, 1962, etc.). This is not the most phonetically accurate of the alternatives, but the controversy over spelling is an academic one because the majority of the "!Kung" do not recognize this as their tribal appelation at all!

The central division "!Kung" call themselves "zũ/wãsi" (zũ = "people"; /wã = "proper" or "true"; si = plural suffix). This translates as "the proper people" or "the true people". It also has the connotation of "just folks" which Elizabeth Marshall Thomas has appropriately rendered as "The Harmless People" (1959). Bushmen of the study area objected to the

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[1] At least fourteen different spellings are in the literature including: Kung, !Kũ, !Kun, ǃung, //Khun, ǂKũng, ᶜhũ, !xũ, !Khũ, ǃun, !Kung.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

184 The northern !Kung of Angola and Ovamboland are closely
648 associated with Bantu agriculturalists. In 1925 Bleek ob-
222 served that "In contradistinction to the southern !Kũ the
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439 women and children (i.e. of the Angola !Kung) are not collectors of wild food. Once or twice a year when certain berries ripen, the whole tribe goes out berry picking; otherwise they live by hunting and bartering part of the meat and skins obtained for the agricultural produce of their neighbors...." (1928:108). Westphal visited the Angola !Kung in 1964 and confirmed Bleek's observations (Westphal personal communication).

184 The southern division of !Kung work on the European
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464 farms in the Ghanzi and Gobabis districts. Many of them
648 spend the summer months in the veld, hunting and gathering, but return each year to winter on the farms (Silberbauer n.d.).

Among the central division of !Kung are found Bantu-associated peoples, farm laborers, and independent traditional hunters and gatherers. In the Grootfontein district of South West Africa several thousand central !Kung are working
• 131 on European farms. Along the Okavango river for 500 miles
184 of its length from Cuangar in the northwest to Sehitwa on
648 Lake Ngami, some further thousands of central !Kung live with, and work for, the Bantu of the following tribes:

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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Kuangari Bunja Sambiu Djiriku	⎫ ⎬ ⎭	in South West Africa
Mbukushu		in South West Africa and B. P.
Bayei Batawana Herero	⎫ ⎬ ⎭	in B. P.

[621] These !Kung may live in independent villages near a
[224] Bantu kraal and devote much of their time to hunting and
[222] gathering, or they may be incorporated into the compounds of
[446] their protectors and work as domestic servants and farm hands.
However, all of these Bantu-associated !Kung are in contact
131 with groups of more independent !Kung living inland. Ties
184 of real and fictive kinship and marriage link the river
602 dwelling !Kung with the !Kung of the dry interior. The loca-
582 tion of these non-!Kung peoples is shown in Map 6, p. 34.

131 Map 7 illustrates how the European and Bantu-associated
!Kung form a ring of population around the peripheries of the
northwest Kalahari. These settled areas enclose an interior
of about 25,000 square miles, one third of which is in
Bechuanaland and two thirds in South West Africa. Most of

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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[162] this area is waterless and uninhabited. In the center is a ring of pans and a series of waterholes which support at present a population of 1,200 !Kung Bushmen. They occupy an area of about 3,500 square miles (70 miles from east to west x 50 miles from north to south). This central complex of water sources is surrounded by a belt of waterless, uninhabited country that varies in width from sixty miles, on the east and north, to over one hundred miles on the west and south. Access to the interior is limited. One line of wells links Tsumkwe in the interior with Grootfontein on the west.

[491] Two rarely used motor tracks join the interior with the Okavango swamp to the east. A police patrol road cut in 1954-55 runs from south to north along the B.P./S.W.A. border. The maximum vehicle speed obtainable on these tracks is 20 mph

[177] and trucks pass through about once a month. The difficulty of the terrain, the lack of farming potential, and the scarcity of water have deterred European and Bantu penetration of the area.

[114] The distinction between periphery and interior has been applied to the country of the central !Kung by John Marshall (1957) and Lorna Marshall (1960:327ff). The present usage differs from that of the Marshalls. They applied the term "interior" to the Nyae Nyae ring of pans and regarded the waterholes at /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa as peripheral. Since

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

131 133 312 619 Since the Nyae Nyae peoples are closely linked genealogically to the peoples of /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa, and since their several territories are surrounded by an uninhabited belt 60-100 miles in width, it seems more useful to include all the central water sources under the term "interior" and consider all the other river dwelling and farm !Kung as peripheral (see Map 7, p. 37).

121 184 433 This description of the subsistence ecology of !Kung Bushmen therefore concerns the interior !Kung of the central dialect division. It is not to be taken as representative of the !Kung in general, the great majority of whom are today living on European farms or working closely with Bantu.[1] It was pointed out in Chapter I that the selection of a study site was dictated by the necessity of finding a Bushman population living traditionally and independently. It was realized at the outset that such a population was not typical of the majority of !Kung.

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[1] A further stricture must be applied to the !Kung of the interior. In 1960 a Government Station was built at Tsumkwe, S.W.A. Since then the 800 interior !Kung on the South West African side of the border have settled there and are receiving instruction in agriculture. The 400 !Kung on the Bechuanaland side of the border have not been permitted to participate in this program. Therefore, during the period of the present study, only the interior !Kung in Bechuanaland were leading a year-round hunting and gathering way of life.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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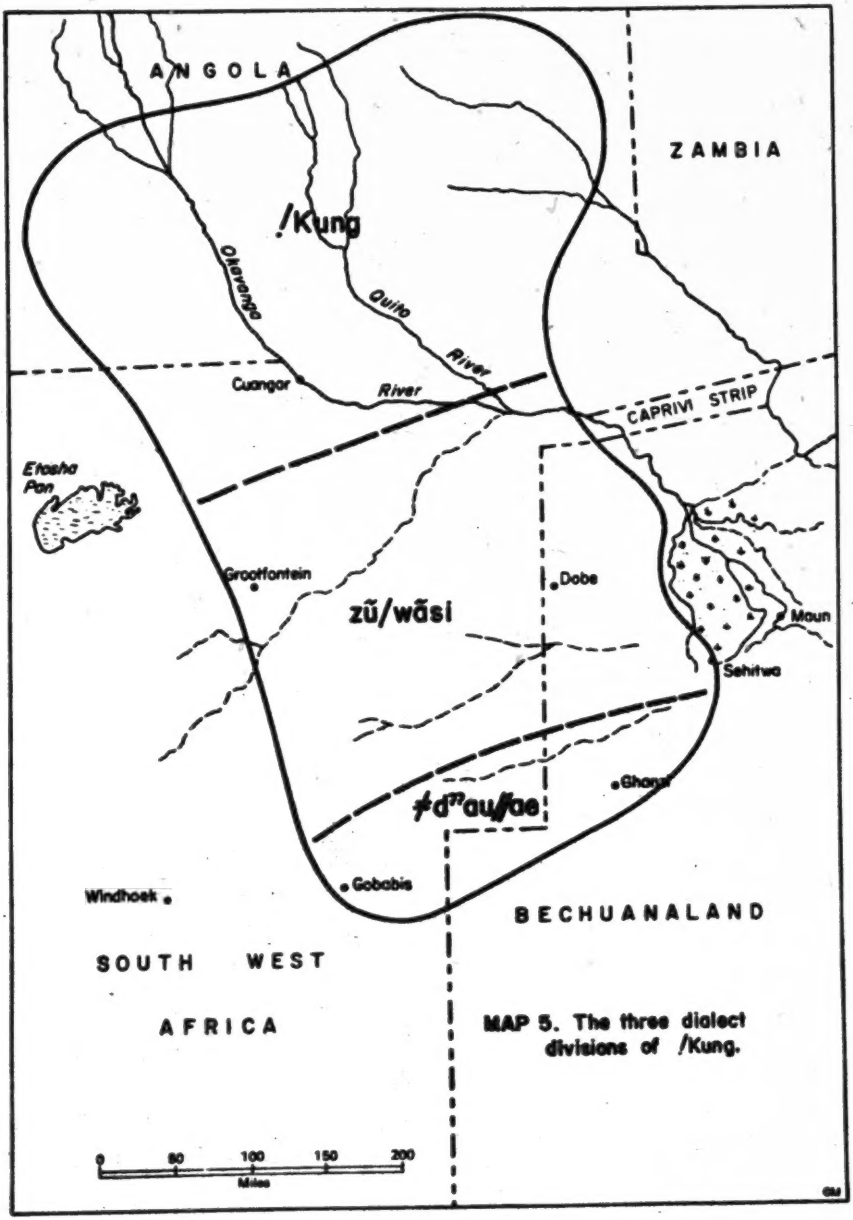

MAP 5. The three dialect divisions of /Kung.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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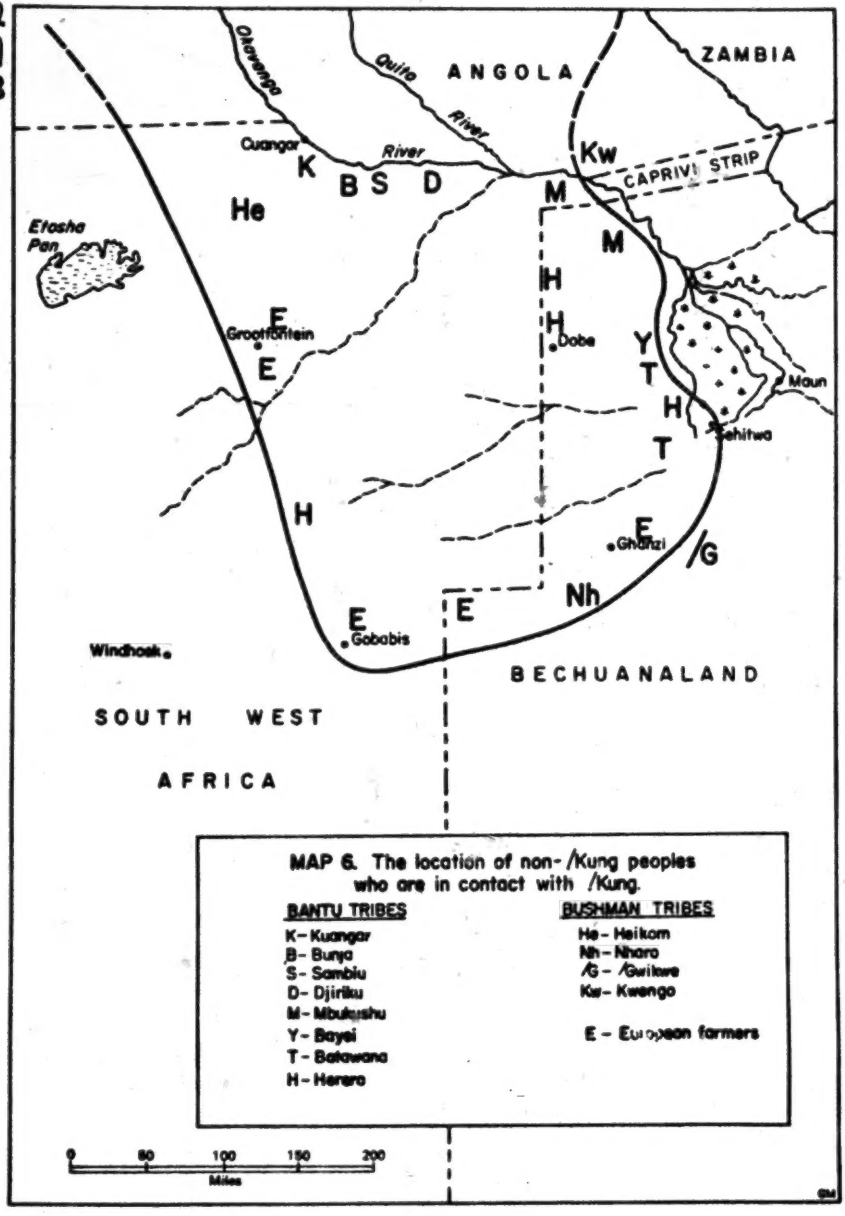

MAP 6. The location of non-/Kung peoples who are in contact with /Kung.

BANTU TRIBES

K- Kuangar
B- Bunja
S- Sambiu
D- Djiriku
M- Mbukushu
Y- Bayei
T- Batawana
H- Herero

BUSHMAN TRIBES

He- Heikom
Nh- Nharo
/G- /Gwitawa
Kw- Kwengo

E - European farmers

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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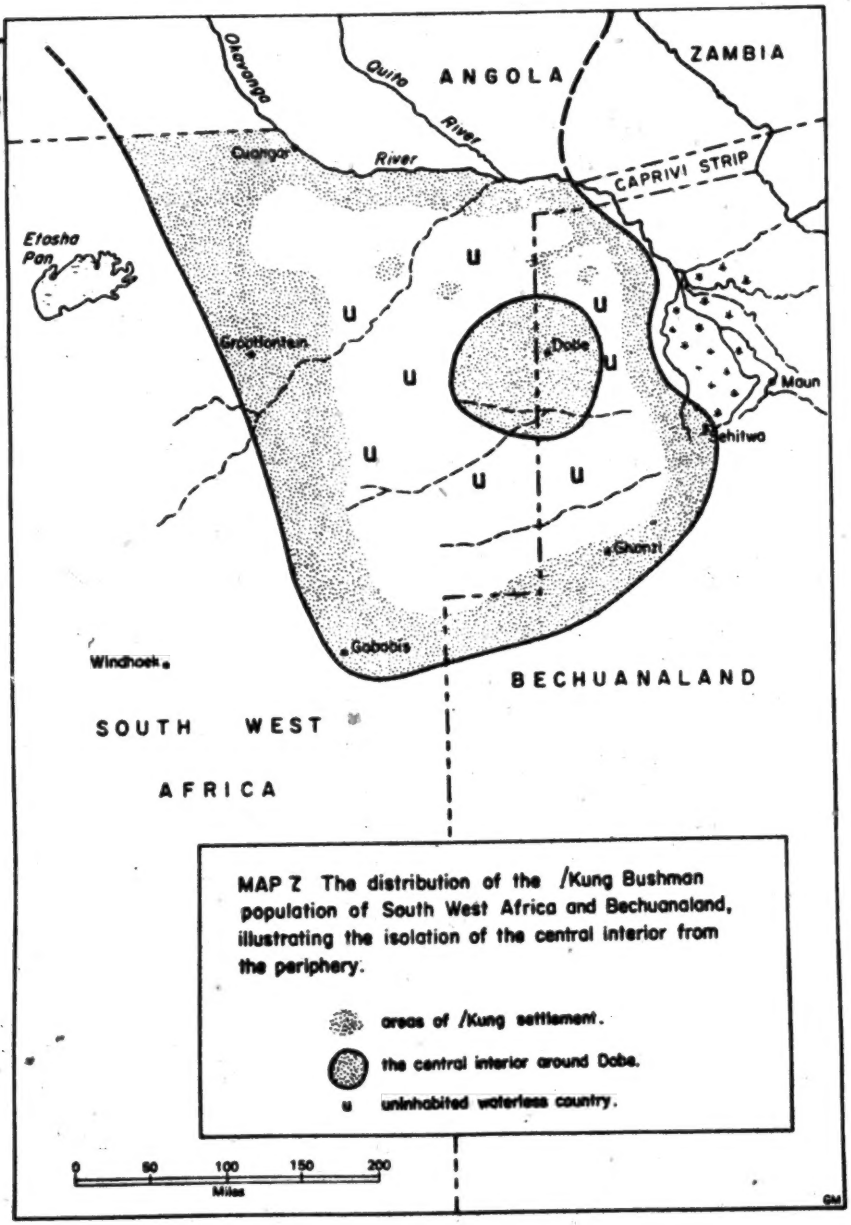

MAP 7 The distribution of the /Kung Bushman population of South West Africa and Bechuanaland, illustrating the isolation of the central interior from the periphery.

areas of /Kung settlement.

the central interior around Dobe.

u uninhabited waterless country.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

III. THE DOBE AREA: ITS PEOPLES AND HISTORY

[131] [114] Dobe, a small waterhole on the South West Africa/Bechuanaland border, ninety miles west of Nokaneng, B.P., was the location of the author's main field camp. The term, "Dobe area", as used in this report refers to the country [312] within a thirty mile radius of the Dobe well. This includes the eleven permanent waterholes which support the entire population of Bushmen and Bantu in the Bechuanaland sector [224] of the !Kung interior. The Dobe area also includes a large [222] tract of ground in South West Africa where Bechuanaland Bushmen traditionally go to hunt and gather. It does not include the Nyae Nyae pans, /gam and Tsumkwe in South West Africa, or the more distant waterholes at n!aun!au, at !áudum, or at Tsodilo Hills in Bechuanaland (see Map 8).

Dobe is not the cultural or administrative center of the settlements of the interior !Kung. On the contrary, Dobe is the most isolated of the waterholes on the Bechuanaland side. The term "Dobe area" is applied here simply as a matter of convenience.

To reach the Dobe area by truck, one drives west from the Batawana town of Nokaneng which is situated on the western edge of the Okavango swamps. After traversing uninhabited country for 67 miles the traveller arrives at

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

131 [133] !goše, the first waterhole of the area. Continuing southwest from !goše the motor track parallels the course of a dry river bed called the !angwadum for 23 miles until it meets 131 the South West Africa border track. Along this route from 312 !goše to the border one passes the waterholes of Kamburungu, !angwa matse, !angwa, Bate, Kathikona, Mahopa, !Kabe, and !ubai. Each of these wells supports Bushman groups and Bantu cattle posts. Following the border track north from its intersection with the !angwadum one can reach Dobe which supports a resident population of Bushmen but no Bantu. [133] Turning south from the intersection, one crosses the low ranges of the Aha Hills which are usually uninhabited and arrives after 25 miles at /ai/ai, a large waterhole with over one hundred Bushmen.

131 361 All these centers of habitation lie to the east and south of Dobe. To the north, the nearest settlement is n!aun!au at a distance of 40 miles and, to the west, the nearest settlement is Tsumkwe, 35 miles away (see Map 8).

131 312 [161] Eight naturally occurring waterholes support the bulk of the Dobe area population which in November, 1964, stood at 763 people. There were 433 Bushmen residents, all but one [563] of them members of the !Kung tribe. There were 340 Bantu, eighty-five percent of whom were of the Herero tribe. The remaining Bantu were Batawana, Mbukushu and Bayei.

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!Kung

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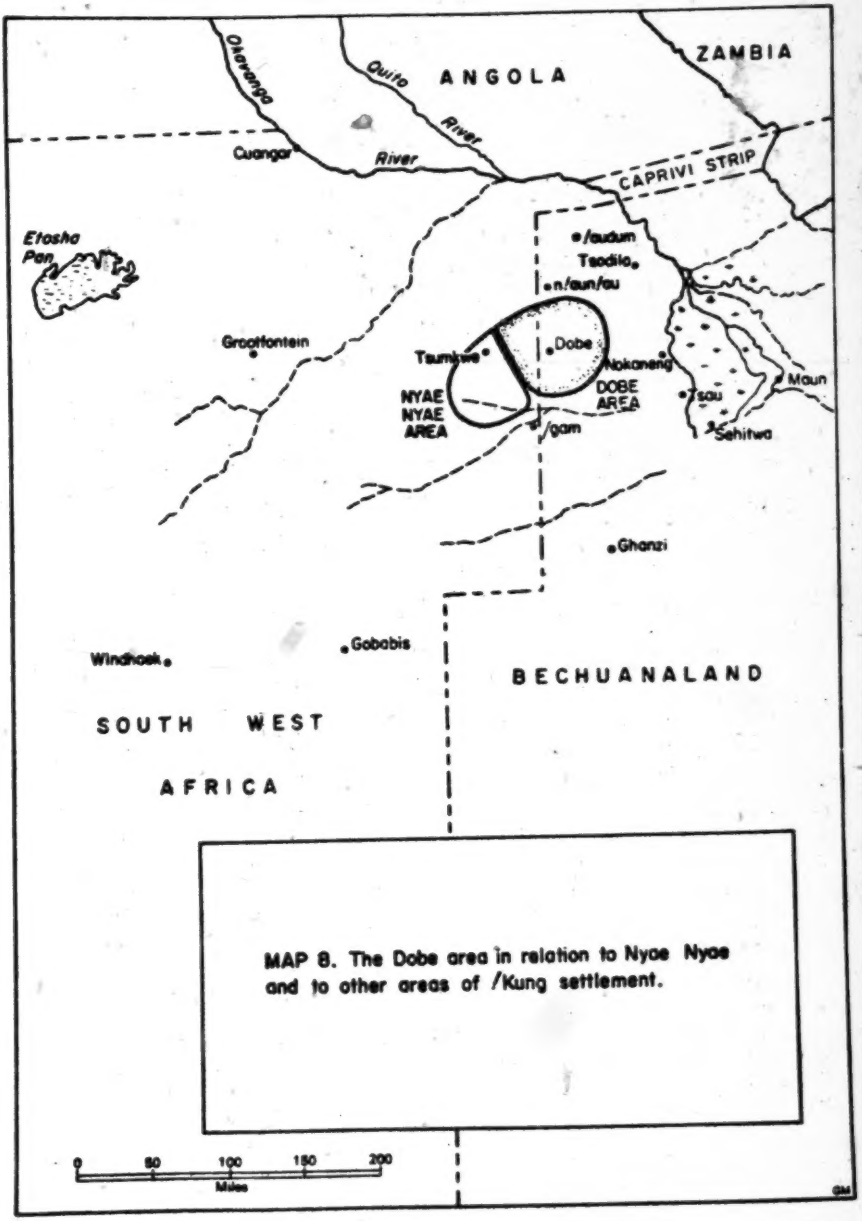

MAP 8. The Dobe area in relation to Nyae Nyae and to other areas of /Kung settlement.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

TABLE 2

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The Numbers and Distribution of the Bushman and Bantu Populations of the Dobe Area

Name of Waterhole and Location	Population Bushman	Bantu
1. !gose -- 23 miles east of Dobe	62	18
2. !angwa -- 13 miles east of Dobe	36	49
3. Bate -- 12 miles southeast of Dobe	45	21
4. Mahopa -- 7 miles east of Dobe	42	65
5. !Kabe -- 3 miles east of Dobe	8	12
6. !ubi -- 5 miles south of Dobe	52	65
7. /ai/ai -- 27 miles south of Dobe	109	67
8. Dobe	36	--
Three other wells, dug in recent years by the Bantu, support the remainder of the population:		
9. Kathikona -- 10 miles east of Dobe	1	8
10. !angwamatse -- 17 miles east of Dobe	9	23
11. Kamburungu -- 19 miles east of Dobe	1	12
TOTALS	401[1]	340

[1]The total of 433 is arrived at by the addition of 32 !Kung who were outside the Dobe area at the time of the census.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

IV. THE ENVIRONMENT

131 The area under consideration is a tract of land in Bechuanaland and South West Africa. The boundaries are the Okavango River on the north and east, the Ghanzi Farms on the south, and the edge of the South West African Escarpment on the west. The area thus defined (excluding transitional zones on the edges) is c. 160 miles x 160 miles = 25,600 sq. miles.

133 The area is characterized by a series of fixed dunes running parallel to each other 5-50 miles in length oriented approximately W 10° N / E 10° S. In the spaces between the dunes, 1-5 miles in width, are basins or molapos. "Molapo" is a Sechuana word meaning dry river bed. It is used throughout the thesis when referring to the longitudinal depressions between the dunes as well as the more deeply incised river valleys that do not conform to the parallel [114] patterning of the dunes. "Molapo" is the Sechuana equivalent of "omaramba", a Herero word used by J. Marshall (1957), Story (1958), and others.

The combination of basin and dune forms a remarkably uniform pattern from north to south. At several points the landscape is incised by deeper drainage systems that expose the bedrock. The molapo dune pattern is also interrupted by

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

Day Length

132 [131] The Dobe area is situated at 20° south latitude and there is an annual variation in day length at this latitude of slightly less than two hours. In mid-winter (June-July) the sun rose about 7:00 a.m. and set at 6:00 p.m. In mid-summer the sun rose about 6:00 a.m. and set at 7:00 p.m. This seasonal variation plus a corresponding variation in temperature had a noticeable effect on the activity patterns of the Bushmen. During the winter they arose late and stayed around their camp fires until mid-morning. They concentrated their subsistence activities in the warmer middle hours of the day (10:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.). On the other hand, during the hot summer days they adopted a "crepuscular" activity pattern. They arose at 6:00 a.m. and worked until 10:00 a.m. Whenever possible they spent the hottest mid-day hours resting in the shade. There was a second period of activity during the cooler hours of the evening (5:00-7:30 p.m.).

[404] When long hikes were undertaken the Bushmen had no alternative but to travel during the hottest hours of the day. Even during the hot dry season (September-October) they were never observed to hunt or travel at night.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

superior to those of the other native peoples that they have been able to preserve much of their original cohesion and culture, and in many cases to offer a strong resistance to the disintegrating effects of contact with European civilization.

The present work deals with those two groups of natives who have suffered most at the hands of the European settlers: the Bushmen and the Hottentots. In spite of the far-reaching differences between them, they have in common several features, not only of race and language, but also of culture, especially religion, which justify their being treated together. These common features by no means render invalid the distinctions upon which is based the customary classification of these peoples into two separate groups. They are significant enough, however, to permit of both groups being regarded as constituting to some extent a larger ethnic unit, which, it is important to note, is clearly differentiated from the Bergdama on the one hand and the Bantu on the other. The term *Khoisan*, recently coined by Schultze to denote the racial stock to which the Bushmen and the Hottentots belong,[1] has therefore been accepted here as a convenient generic name for these two peoples. The necessity for such a generic name will perhaps be seen more clearly when the racial history of each people has been considered.

Topography: General Features

The Khoisan peoples at the present time live almost entirely in the western and central portions of South Africa. The main political areas within whose borders they are found are the Territory of South-West Africa, formerly a German colony, but now administered under mandate by the Union of South Africa; Bechuanaland Protectorate, administered directly by Great Britain through the High Commissioner for South Africa; and the central and western districts of the Union, principally in the Cape of Good Hope. The Bushmen formerly extended further east into Southern Rhodesia and over the rest of the Union, but have virtually disappeared from those parts.

The territory over which the two peoples are now scattered presents a solid land mass, covering an area of approximately 915,000 square

[1] L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, p. 211. The term is compounded of the names *Khoi-Khoin*, by which the Hottentots call themselves, and *San*, applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen. The latter have no collective name of their own.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10 •

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the game. In the more arid parts the animals in the dry season concentrate in vast numbers about the rivers and waterholes and pans, to disperse widely as soon as the rains make life possible elsewhere. The same features of alternate concentration and dispersal can be observed in the life of the purely hunting tribes. The pastoral resources are on the whole excellent, there being no lack of grass or edible shrubs even during the dry season, and consequently cattle-keeping peoples are able to lead a favoured existence in these uplands. Agriculture is also practised to some extent, but is confined to the scattered alluvial tracts. As a means of subsistence it is rendered precarious by the frequent droughts which characterize the region. These often exercise a harmful effect on pastoralism as well, partly because of the ensuing lack of water, but mainly because the pasture is completely destroyed in many parts of the country. The plateaus of the Orange Free State, Cape Province, and Southern Bechuanaland are especially exposed to such catastrophes, but they are often enough marked in South-West Africa also, particularly in Great Namaqualand.

Further east and along the south coast the rainfall is high enough to place cultivation on a safe footing, while the country, where it is not covered with bush or forest, is composed of extensive grass flats which can be used as pasture land. Consequently, both agriculture and pastoralism are equally developed, the former being carried out on a far greater scale than in other parts of South Africa. Here, therefore, we find the most thickly settled zones, and the population is mainly sedentary, even although the pastoral tribes must still to some extent lead a nomadic life.

Migration Routes

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The geographical situation of South Africa has an obvious bearing upon the racial history of the country. Cut off by vast uninterrupted stretches of water from ready access on the west, south, and east, its most direct link with other regions is overland to the north. In the north-west the great forest regions of the Congo impose an effective barrier upon extensive human migrations, so that it is principally from the north-east that invading peoples have been able to enter the country.[1] The East African highlands are connected with the south by a favourable route passing between the escarpments in the east with their sharp descent to the fertile but fever-stricken coastlands,

[1] Cf. Passarge, *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 32–3; *idem*, *Südafrika*, pp. 163–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10.

and the elevated ridges and plateaus of Central Africa. The route bifurcates north of Lake Nyasa. The eastern branch leads to the broad coastal belt of the Rovuma-Rufiji region and down to the Zambesi delta, the western branch to the diversified plateau between Lakes Nyasa and Bangweolo and the Zambesi River.

This diversified plateau region is important as the central point from which migration routes branch out into South Africa. Two principal routes may be distinguished, one leading to the south, the other to the west. The southward route, crossing the Zambesi just above or just below the famous gorge which begins at the Victoria Falls, leads through the Matabeleland plateau of Southern Rhodesia into the Northern Transvaal, avoiding the unhealthy coastlands of Portuguese East Africa on the east, and the waterless tracts of the Middle and Southern Kalahari on the west. Then, following the uplands of the great interior plateau, it leads down through the Western Transvaal and Orange Free State into the west of Cape Province, or, branching off through Zululand, passes along the south-east and south coast belt to rejoin the other line in the Cape Province. The westward route follows the southern equatorial watershed between the two well-watered regions of the Congo basin and the Northern Kalahari and so leads to the fertile and healthy highlands of Angola. Here it branches out on the north to Loanda and the Lower Congo, on the south over the Kunene into the highland plateaus of South-West Africa and across the Orange River into the Western Cape Province, where it meets the southward route.

These are the main lines of migration imposed above all on cattle-keeping peoples. The high steppes afford the best pasture and facilitate movement, and in addition are more healthy for men and animals than the low-lying coastlands or the moister portions of the interior with their malaria, tsetse fly and other infectious diseases. One other point must be noticed. South Africa by virtue of its geographical situation forms an ethnological cul-de-sac: the ocean on three sides bars all further progress. Hence invading peoples must either wipe out their predecessors completely or live side by side with them, the latter a condition likely to result in intermingling and the formation of hybrid races and cultures. Both processes have occurred frequently enough in the history of the country.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

There is unfortunately no reliable information available as to the extent of territory occupied by the band. The only writer to touch on this question is Seiner, who estimates that in the Grootfontein district in the north-east of South-West Africa the average hunting territory covers about 700 sq. km.[1] This figure, however, cannot be regarded even as approximate, for it is based on what is almost certainly an excessive estimate of the total Bushman population in that district.

Size of the Band

The number of people who make up a band varies from tribe to tribe, and even within the tribe itself, although it is never considerable. Some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen speak of bands containing from one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons,[2] but groups much smaller in size are also mentioned.[3] Certainly in more recent times the number of families living together seldom exceeded three or four.[4] The remnants of the Namib Bushmen now also live in very small groups of only a few persons,[5] and so do the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, where a band rarely has more than about twenty members.[6] Elsewhere Dornan states that he has seldom seen more than six or seven families together at a time, all told about thirty persons, and this was in a camp at permanent water.[7] The !O Kung in Angola are also found living together in very small bands. The largest group met by Miss Bleek consisted of sixteen men and fifteen women; everywhere else little parties were seen of from two to six men, with their wives and families.[8]

In considering these figures it must be remembered that the Cape Bushmen were already being persecuted and dispersed, and their organization disintegrated, by their more powerful neighbours at the time when they came under observation, while the Namib Bushmen are now almost extinct and live in very unfavourable country. Whether they were formerly banded together in larger numbers there is no means of telling. The Hiechware and the !O Kung, again,

[1] Seiner, loc. cit.
[2] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 53.
[3] Burchell, op. cit., i, 456; Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 48; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 144.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii.
[5] Trenk, op. cit., 166; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Range, *Landeskunde . . . des Namalandes*, 73.
[6] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 90.
[7] Ibid., 130.
[8] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Nama

Bushmen FX10

• B
H
• 131
619

[facing p. 446 (a)]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Nama

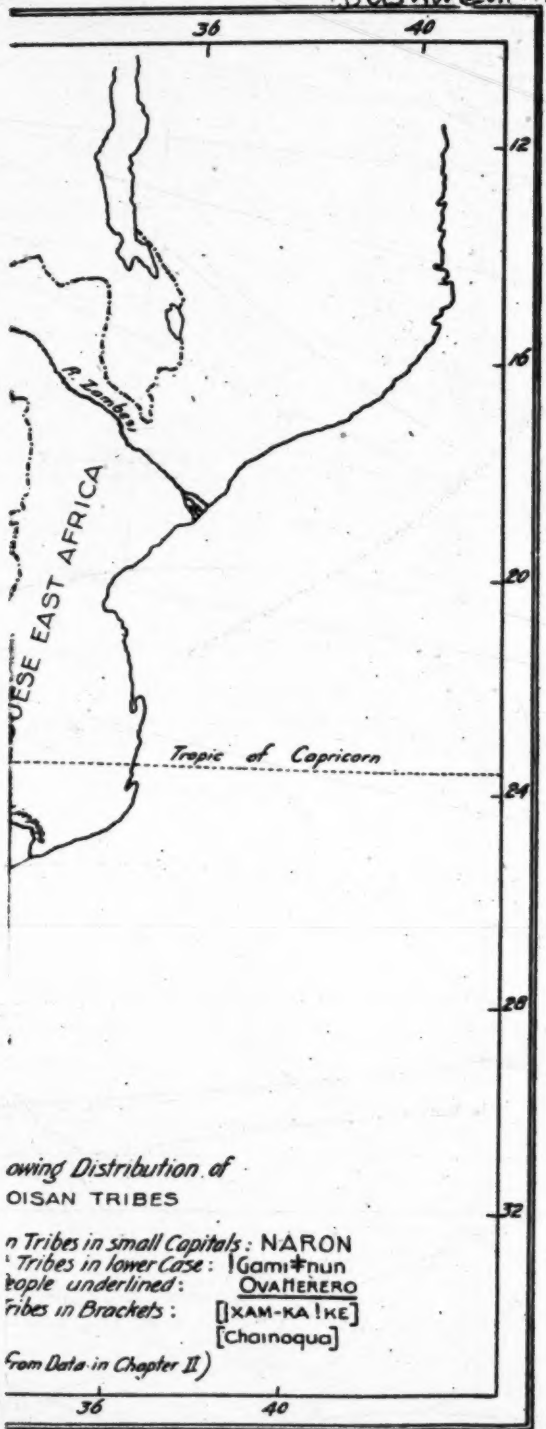
Bushmen FX10

B
H
131
619

[facing p. 446 (4)]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX10

B
H
131
619



[facing p. 446 (c)]